A

REVIEW

Of the Two Late

REBELLIONS,

Hiſtorical, Political and Moral.

In Two PARTS.

PART the SECOND.

I. A *Continuation* of the REBELLION till the Return of the Young CHEVALIER to *France*.

II. The *Real* MOTIVES of each REBELLION.

III. The *only* MEANS of ever DESTROYING our preſent GOVERNMENT, deduced from the above.

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A

REVIEW

OF THE

Two Late REBELLIONS,

With ſome Reflections Moral and Political.

THE Chieftains no ſooner returned from Conſultation, than a general Diſcontent appeared in the Countenances of all, and were felt by the Inhabitants in the Strictneſs they made uſe of in raiſing the Levies. The Highlanders were ever remarkable for their Supineneſs in taking the proper Advantages, which Succeſs might offer them; they ever ravaged and got together what the preſent Opportunity afforded them,

and then returned loaded with their Prey, regardleſs of what might follow: But now, contrary to their uſual Practice, we find them alone, notwithſtanding the manifeſt Dangers perſiſting in going forwards. They were confident whatever might happen their late unhappy Step had drawn them into ſuch a Dilemma, that without they conquered Juſtice would purſue, and their Highlands would be made the Scene of War, whilſt on the other Hand, they were not convinced of the Inability of their Friends in *London*, or the Remiſſneſs of their Allies. Beſides, they were ſpirited up with the Hopes of Plunder they expected to get by the ranſacking of *London*; wherefore they were hurried with the greateſt Zeal, as was ſaid, againſt every thing which offered the leaſt Obſtruction to their deſigned Prey; but the Pretender in theſe Circumcumſtances, prudently kept his Sentiments concealed, till the Impetuoſity of their Paſſions might be abated, nor did he diſcover them till the Cloſe of the next Conſultation, which was held the Day after. No ſooner did they meet, than Lord *Elcho*, immediately, the Ceremonies being adjuſted, began; 'My honoured Prince, it has been with

' with the greateſt Anxiety of Mind, I have
' continually, ſince our arriving at this Place,
' heard the Timidity of the Noiſy perpe-
' tually inſtilled into the Ears of the half
' frightned Liſtener. They have been
' alarmed by Accounts as far exceeding
' Truth, as their baſe Fear, ſunk them
' below the true Courage of *Scotchmen*, of
' Armies before them, and others equally nu-
' merous all around, of which, not to men-
' tion the Untruth, I would only obſerve,
' whether every one here do not eſteem
' our Force ſufficient to face the Power of
' the greateſt. If ſo, is it not poſſible for
' us to make our March ſo ſudden, and to
' give the Stroak ſo quick, as that neither
' of the others ſhall be able to come to its
' Aſſiſtance. 'Tis true, the Army before
' us is headed by a General, tho' Young,
' yet generally approved of by the Soldiers.
' And are not we headed by a Prince
' (pardon me my honoured Maſter for thus
' giving way to Neceſſity) equally adored,
' and whoſe Experience every Step in this
' Progreſs have declared ſuperior to that
' of the moſt accompliſhed General. Then
' what have we to fear! We have proved
' ourſelves to be far ſuperior in the Field,

'and ſhall we run ſhamefully from what
'Flight will never free us? For ſhould we
'turn our Backs, 'twill be but to face an-
'other Enemy, and keep the more power-
'ful behind us. Which, beſides the ill
'Policy, would greatly diſhearten our
'Troops, and be but fighting the Battle
'of the Enemy, for their ſole Aim is to
'drive us from this Kingdom, and make
'the other the Seat of War; whilſt our
'puſhing forwards would not only be a
'Means of carrying the War further from
'our Country, but would likewiſe be the
'only Means of poſſibly having Succeſs to
'attend our Motions. And when we con-
'ſider the Experience of the General, and
'our national Virtue againſt the Effemina-
'cy and Weakneſs of the *Engliſh*, we
'ſhall find we have the greateſt Reaſon to
'expect that Victory will attend us. The
'Number of our Forces are known to be
'Eight thouſand effective Men, whilſt the
'Enemy before us, when muſtered to-
'gether, are not by themſelves accounted
'above Twelve thouſand. And here, let
'not thoſe behind intimidate us, but
'let us make ſure, the Overthrow of the
'one will ſo terrify the reſt, that they

will

'will be more ready to join us amicably, 'than meet us as Enemies. Therefore I 'humbly propoſe we make what haſte we 'can to give the Duke Battle.' In which Opinion he was immediately backed by the Duke of *Perth*. 'My honoured Maſter 'and much loved Prince, I could not but 'perceive with equal Regret and Grief the 'Fears of a few inſtilled into the Ears of 'many. Much is their Talk of the Ene-'my before us, they look back with Dread 'on the Army behind, and great are their 'Apprehenſions of the Levies in *Northum-'berland*, and if they turn their Head to 'the Weſt, they ſhudder with Fear at the 'Preparations at *Cheſter*. My Prince, we 'have loſt two Opportunities of effecting 'this Work with Eaſe. Our Friends were 'elate after the Battle of *Preſton*, and all 'Perſons who ſtood with Indifferency to 'ſee the turn of the Scale to direct 'them, would then have come in and 'joined us: Had we not returned to take 'Poſſeſſion of a City, from which we can-'not expect the leaſt Advantage, we 'might have paſſed *Wade*, and come on 'them e'er theſe Levies were got to-'gether. But nevertheleſs, my dear Prince,

tho'

'tho' we come thus late, tho' our Friends 'in the North of *England* have thus baſely 'treated us, I can't but think we are in 'Circumſtances every truly brave Man 'would rejoice at. We are now proceeded 'thus far in the Redemption of thoſe 'Rights we have long panted for, backed 'by ſuch Followers as tho' they are few 'in Number, yet turn not to the greateſt 'Force of the Enemy. 'Tis true we 'can't look back without ſhuddering, ſince 'our Troops now willing and ready to go 'forward would then be diſpirited, and 'we ſhould find no Advantage in our 'Flight.

'If we look before us we may ſee an 'Enemy equal indeed in Number, but how 'deficient that is in Strength, our late Trial 'have convinced us. *Wade* is ſo far behind 'as not to be able to give any Relief, 'provided we make uſe of our greateſt 'Expedition. And is there an Army on 'the Eaſt we are ſure they can be naught 'but a Militia, which on the hearing of 'an Overthrow, will flock into and grace 'our Appearance in the Capital, where the 'Number of our Well-wiſhers will be 'then found to exceed the Force of the

'Diſ-

' Diſaffected.' To which after ſome ſhort Space the *Chevalier* replied; ' My Friends ' and Fellow-undertakers of this ſo truly ' noble and difficult an Undertaking, I ' perceive ſomething, I know not what, in ' your Countenances commanding Silence, ' to which were I to give my Sentiments, I ' ſhould imagine you came to this Conſul- ' tation with a Reſolution to vote a Retreat; ' but the experienced Judgment of the two ' noble Lords, who have juſt delivered ' their Sentiments, have ſtaggered, tho' not ' entirely convinced your Opinions. You ' know not how to conceive thoſe Councils, ' which you ever found the beſt and ſureſt ' Foundation for Action ſhould now err, ' whilſt your Apprehenſions of the Dangers ' adviſe a Retreat. And here, did not the ' late Advices I have received counſel me ' otherwiſe, I muſt confeſs I ſhould be ' biaſſed to the Advice of the late Lords; ' but my Accounts from all Quarters ' urge me to a different Opinion.

' So apprehenſive were the *Engliſh* of our ' Friends Preparations in *France*, that our ' lateſt Advices this Morning received, ' informs us they have drawn all their ' naval Force againſt thoſe very Ports they

‘ were deſtined to ſail from. However,
‘ the Zeal of our Friends would not ſuffer
‘ that Diſappointment to deprive us of all
‘ the Succours in their Power, they im-
‘ mediately embarked a conſiderable Force,
‘ under the truly noble Lord *John Drum-*
‘ *mond*, together with a great Supply of
‘ Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition. The
‘ Succeſs of Lord *Lewis Gordon* encreaſes
‘ daily, and our Advices inform us their
‘ Number will equal at the leaſt thoſe al-
‘ ready in Arms, whilſt on the other Hand
‘ our Friends in *London* inform us of the
‘ great Care and Caution of the Elector;
‘ the Methods he has taken to prevent a
‘ Surprize, and that whatever Commotion
‘ they ſhould make at this preſent Inſtance,
‘ muſt terminate in our Diſadvantage.
‘ Then let us, my Friends, in theſe Cir-
‘ cumſtances, play the back Game; we
‘ have it in our Power to paſs by *Wade*,
‘ and the utmoſt Expedition of the Duke
‘ can never overtake us. We ſhall draw
‘ all their Strength into the North, where
‘ the Conjunction of our Friends will en-
‘ able us to face them, whilſt the *French*
‘ will have their expected Opportunity of
‘ landing in the South, and take Poſſeſſion

‘ of

' of the Capital, whilſt we keep the Foe
' at Bay in the North; wherefore 'tis our
' Reſolution to reach *Aſhburn* to-morrow.'
No ſooner was this known, than a general Diſcontent run through the Veins of the Soldiery. They were bred up indeed to an implicit Obedience to their Chief's Commands, but were unuſed to retreat from an Undertaking till they had met with a Repulſe, or ſatiated their Revenge with Slaughter, and were loaded with Plunder. However, having cloathed them with the Manufactury of the Town, and levied on the Inhabitants, under Pain of Military Execution, the ſeveral Sums they had got Intelligence were ſubſcribed to the Government, they began their Retreat. On the Sixth of *December* they reach *Aſhburn*, on the Seventh *Leek*, and on the Eighth the Van arrived at *Mancheſter*, where they firſt perceived the Folly of popular Applauſe, a few Days before they were received with all the Congratulations due to the Deliverers of their Country, and now they exert their greateſt Power to harraſs and retard them; on the Ninth the *Chevalier* arrived, who impoſed a Tax of 2500 *l.*

on them, but nevertheleſs promiſed payment when in quiet Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom; on the 10th paſſes *Pendleton* Pole, the 11th at *Wigan*, and on the 12th at *Preſton*; from whence on the 13th the Pretender had no ſooner departed than General *Oglethorp* enter'd with the Horſe and Dragoons from *Wade*'s Army, having march'd acroſs the Country over Ice and Mountains, 100 Miles in three Days.

General *Wade* encamping at *Wetherby* reſolved on a March to *Wakefield*, in order to face the Enemy. The Duke haſtened with 1000 Volunteers to attack the Rear of the Rebels, and retard their March: On the 10th he arrives at *Macclesfield* in *Cheſhire*, a Day's March from *Manchester*, and about One on the Fourteenth he arrives at *Preſton*.

And here an Engagement muſt have enſued, had not a Report been ſpread which retarded his Royal Highneſs's Forces for a Day, of the *French* being landed in the South; however, the Rebels having likewiſe received a Check, he came up with them at *Clifton* on the 18th in the Evening. The Accident which retarded

the

the Rebels was at *Kendal* on the 14th, when the Van paſſing through the Town, and being got on the Bridge, were made ſenſible of the Diſcontent of the Populace, by ſeveral firing from their Houſes. They killed one of their Huſſars, and took two Priſoners; but the Rebels continuing to march on towards *Penrith*, to which Place they were deſign'd, they were ſurpriſed at the burning of the Beacons, which being informed was an Alarm to the Country, they thought it ſafeſt to return to their main Body, which by this Time was arrived at *Kendal*; from which Place they ſet out for *Penrith*, but their Rear was overtaken by his Royal Highneſs at *Clifton*, about three Miles from *Penrith*, which was commanded by Lord *George Murray*. They threw themſelves behind ſome old Ruins, which they reſolutely defended with little other Loſs than the taking of Captain *Hamilton*, a bold reſolute Man, and retreated under Favour of the Night to *Penrith*. The Duke loſt forty Men, and Colonel *Honeywood*, Captain *Eaſt*, Cornets *Owen* and *Hamilton* were wounded. The Rebels ſet out from *Penrith* at Ten the ſame Night, and in the Morning on the 19th enter

Carliſle, where they left a Sacrifice to the Safety of the others, thoſe who had been ſo imprudent as to join him in *England*; together with ſome *Scotch*, to the Number of 400, under the Command of Colonel *Hamilton*, with whom he left all his Artillery, with Orders to hold out to the laſt Extremity, and the main Body proceeded to repaſs the *Eſk*. But no ſooner did his Royal Highneſs appear, being re-inforced by a Body of Foot from *Wade*, and having received the expected Cannon from *Whitehaven*, than on the 30th in the Morning they hung out the white Flag, but his Royal Highneſs refuſed treating with them, and ſaid only, that their ſurrendering ſhould indeed ſave them from the Outrages of the Soldiery, and they ſhould be reſerved for the Juſtice of his Father. To which they agreed, and Brigadier *Bligh* immediately took Poſſeſſion, and his Royal Highneſs with the main Body entered the next Day. From whence he ſet out for *London*, where he arrived on the 5th about ſeven in the Morning, leaving the Chief Command to General *Hawley*, to proceed into *Scotland*, and to act as Occaſion ſhould offer.

Experience

Experience hath ſhewn this Proceeding impolitick; for the General, on whoſe Conduct and Eſteem the Courage and Reſolution of the whole Army depended, to leave them at a Time when the Enemy flew from them, not in order to diſperſe and conceal themſelves the better, but to meet a Re-inforcement, and full of Hopes of effecting thoſe great Performances, their preſent Forces had only threatned us with. But ſo deſpicable was their Appearance, ſo ſuperiour was the Force of his Majeſty's Army, and ſo great was the want of his Highneſs in the Council, that had he ſtayed to entirely have deſtroyed what he had already diſperſed, he might well have been thought to have conſumed in Trifles that Time his Country cried out for to be employed in Matters of much greater Importance.

The Rebels, as hath been ſaid, paſſed the River *Eſk* with the greateſt Difficulty, and the Loſs of many Men, occaſioned by the great Swellings of the Water on the 20th, and went to *Dumfries* with a Body of 4000, and demanded a Contribution of 2000 *l.* of which 1100 *l.* was immediately payed, and

and Hoſtages taken for the Remainder; from whence they proceed towards *Glaſgow*, ſpurred on by Revenge, not only for the Zeal it had ſhewn in this preſent War, but as it was always found a firm Rock againſt arbitrary Proceedings and popiſh Uſurpations; and as the true Principles of Equity and the Civil Law are there taught in the higheſt Perfection, ſo the greateſt Zeal for the preſent reigning Family was ever found in the Breaſts of all its Members; where they arrived on the 25th, and tho' they were reſtrained by the Criſis of their Affairs to break out in open Outrage, yet they exerted the higheſt Cruelty wherever they could flatter themſelves with the leaſt Appearance of Juſtice. Having heard of a Subſcription in Defence of the Government, they immediately on entering the Town ſummoned the Provoſt with Orders to deliver in a Copy of the Subſcription, with every Subſcriber's Name and Sum, under Pain of being immediately hung up; but he generouſly replied, as his Office called on him principally, ſo he was firſt on the Liſt, and had ſubſcribed the largeſt; and that they might put in Action their Threats, for he ſhould make

no other Diſcovery. However they thought proper to content themſelves with aſſeſſing the Town at 10,000 *l.* and ſet out for *Kilſyth* on the 3d of *January*. On the 4th at *Bannockburnne*, on the 5th ſummons *Stirling*.

The Town being in no manner of Defence ſurrendered, but the truly brave General *Blakeney* retreated into the Caſtle, which from its Situation is of the greateſt Importance, and by Art and Nature is of conſiderable Strength; it being like *Edinburgh*, built on the Summit of a high Hill, inacceſſible all Ways but on the Eaſt, and mounts more Guns than the other. The Importancy of the Place ſtirred them on to the Attempt, tho' ill provided, their Engineers being bad, and their Artillery worſe.

General *Hawley* having marched to *Edinburgh*, which was now reduced to the Obedience of the Royaliſts, detach'd Major General *Huſke* to *Falkirk* to diſlodge the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, who was there quartered with the *Chevalier*'s Horſe, but his Lordſhip made a ſpeedy Retreat to *Stirling*. General *Hawley* advanced with the remainder of the Army to *Falkirk*, in order

order to raiſe the Siege, but the young *Chevalier* thought it moſt adviſeable to give him the meeting. He having Intelligence that the *Engliſh* Forces had planted themſelves on the Summit of a Hill, and that it would be difficult for them, and take up ſome Time to bring up their Artillery, made what haſte he could to give them Battle. General *Hawley* commanded the Grenadiers to advance and engage Sword in Hand, and the Foot to follow and give a ſmart Fire; but the Rebels putting the Dragoons in Diſorder, and they breaking the Ranks of the Foot a total Overthrow had enſued, had not *Barrel*'s and *Ligonier*'s made a ſhort Stop, and given General *Huſke* Time to form a Body in their Rear, whilſt General *Mordaunt* rallied the others, and by that Means were able to make an honourable Retreat to *Falkirk*.

The Commander of the Train on the firſt Confuſion quitted his Poſt, and the Soldiers rid off with the Train Horſes; ſo that they were obliged to leave all their Artillery, except thoſe that they brought off, with what Horſes they found at *Falkirk*, and one which *Barrel*'s Regiment dragged with them. They retreated to *Linlithgow*,

and

and the Rebels return with double Expectations to *Stirling*.

Thus we ſee them again triumphant over thoſe very Forces they had juſt before ſo precipitately retreated from; but they had ſince their Arrival in *Scotland*, been reinforced by Lord *John Drummond*'s Regiment, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, and the Maſter of *Lovat*; and the *Engliſh* had loſt their darling Commander.

But not a little Cauſe of their ſo ſhameful a Defeat, was a heavy Rain, with a high Wind blowing full in the Faces of the *Engliſh*.

As the Deſign of General *Hawley* was to raiſe the Siege of *Stirling*, and being diſappointed, the *Chevalier* imagined it might have a great Effect on the Reſolution of *Blakeney*, but being again ſummoned to ſurrender, he returned, that he had ever been eſteemed a Man of Honour, and the Rebels ſhould ſtill find him one.

During this Siege the Rebels were reduced to the greateſt Streights, the Management being entirely left to the *French* and *Iriſh*, and beſides they were in the greateſt Want of Proviſions. They ſent all their Priſoners except Officers to *Down Caſtle* on the

fifth of *March*, and of ſuch Importance did they eſteem this Overthrow, that they fitted up the *Hazard Sloop* on Purpoſe to carrry the News to *France*. Indeed, if we look into the Deſerts of the Soldiers, I fear it may be wiſhed they had ſuffered more; but from the Bravery of the Officers the Loſs was pretty conſiderable, being no leſs than Twenty-five in Number.

The Conſequences of this Victory appeared ſo great to the *Engliſh*, that it was thought neceſſary again to ſend his Royal Highneſs the Duke, who arrived after an expeditious Journey at *Edinburgh* on the 13th, and on the 14th ſets out in two Columns, and quarters at *Linlithgow*; Brigadier Mardaunt with ſix Battalions at *Burrowſtowneſs*, Colonel *Campell* with the *Argyleſhire* Men at *Avon*, with whom the Brigadier *Mordaunt* being detatched forwards, a Party of the Rebels retreat from *Falkirk* to *Torwood*, where the Pretender gave out he would come and give the Duke Battle, but it was thought moſt adviſeable to retreat, which they did with ſo much Precipitation, that blowing up their Magazine at *Stirling* they loſt ſeveral Men. They retreated to *Inverneſs*, the main Body going

over

over *Tay-Bridge* towards the *Highlands*, and Lord *Lewis Gordon* with the *French* towards *Perth*, which they left on the Third, nailing up their Cannon. On the fourth, the Bridge being repaired at *Stirling* the Dragoons march to *Crief* that Night, the Foot remain at *Dumblain*. It was not till the 28th before the Duke arrived at *Aberdeen*. He perceived his Enemy ſecure, provided his own Forces proved faithful. They were better diſciplined and far ſuperior in Number, the Countries Eyes were now opened, and already perceived the direful Effects of being the Dupes of *France*, wherefore there was no Fear of their encreaſing in Number. The Seas were well ſecured, ſo that they could neither receive any Supplies from Abroad, or by that Means fly from the impending Juſtice. His Royal Highneſs therefore embraced this Opportunity of extirpating and puniſhing the many Vices which had crept into the Army.

He held a Court-Marſhal at *Montroſs*, whence he inflicted the merited Puniſhments of Cowardice and Cruelty.

On the Rebels arrival at *Inverneſs* the Earl of *Loudon* retires into *Sutherland*,

leaving Major *Grant* with two independent Companies, to defend to the laſt Extremity Fort St. *George*. But it was ſoon ſurrendered, and as quickly demoliſhed by the Rebels, as likewiſe Fort St. *Auguſtus*, defended with three Companies of *Guiſe*'s, under the Command of Major *Wentworth*. Being thus far ſucceſsful, the *Chevalier* detatched the Duke of *Perth* and Earl of *Cromartie* with a Party in Boats over the Forth of *Murray*, who by the Help of a thick Miſt were ſo ſucceſsful as to oblige the Earl of *Loudon* to retreat precipitately, and at the ſame time ſent Brigadier *Stapleton* to attack Fort *William*, by the taking of which they would have been in Poſſeſſion of the Chain, and conſequently have had all the North-weſt of *Scotland* under their Power. But the Governor having a juſt Senſe of his Duty, their Attempts proved ineffectual, and the Brigadier was obliged to leave his Attempt uneffected, and attend the Summons to be ready to engage the Duke. As the *Chevalier* was taken up during his Abode at *Inverneſs*, in endeavouring to raiſe Men and take Places, ſo His Royal Highneſs, during his Stay at *Aberdeen*, was employed

in

in new framing his Men, and ſeeking out for Quarters. The Duke having ſent Lieutenant General *Bland* on the 16th, to drive away *Roy Steuart* from *Strathbogie* he almoſt ſurprized them: But the Imprudence of a Highland Captain was a Means of elating the Courage of the Rebels, for being ſent with ſeventy Highlanders, and about thirty of *Kingſton*'s Horſe to drive them from *Keith*, they contrary to Orders ſtayed there all Night, and the Rebels returning and ſurrounding the Place, they were all, ſave a ſmall Party of *Kingſton*'s Men, cut off. But an Accident about this Time damped it, as it deprived them of what they ſtood in the greateſt need of. They had ſent the *Hazard* Sloop to *France* to carry the News of their important Victory at *Falkirk*, and at the ſame time Petitions for Ammunition, Money and Men; but they had now long waited with the greateſt Impatience, their Men complaining for want of Pay, when they heard ſhe was taken by the *Sheerneſs*.

She was indeed purſued up the *Tongue-Bay* by her, but being unable to ſuſtain an Engagement, ſhe run aſhore, and landed her Men and Money to the Amount

of

of 12,500 Guineas. But Lord *Reay* being retired there from the Duke of *Perth*'s Attempt, with about eighty Followers, immediately attacked them, and after a ſhort Engagement (the Rebels loſing four Men) they ſurrendered, and his Lordſhip made 156 Officers, Soldiers and Sailors, Priſoners. The private Men were chiefly *French*, but the Officers were moſtly *Scotch* and *Iriſh* in the Service of *France* and *Spain*. The Sloop was commanded by Captain *Talbot* in the *French* Service, and the Picquet by Colonel *Brown* Knight of *St. Lewis*, who made his Eſcape from *Carliſle* after the Surrender of the Town; there was on Board, beſides the Money, fourteen Cheſts of Piſtols and Sabres, and thirteen Barrels of Powder. The Loſs of this Ship and Cargoe, tho' not of the greateſt Importance in it ſelf, yet at this Inſtant when the *Chevalier* was in Diſtreſs for Money, and wanted Arms for his Followers, was a great Damp on their Spirits.

His Royal Highneſs leaves *Aberdeen* on the 11th, encamps at *Cullen*, and is joined by the Earl of *Albemarle*, and on the 12th arrives at the *Spey*; which was paſſed

paſſed without any other Loſs than that of one Dragoon and four Women.

This Neglect of the Rebels of not attacking them at this Paſs, hath been recorded by all as one of the Inſtances of the Unſkilfulneſs and inconſiderate Behaviour of the *Chevalier*'s Party, it being a very difficult Ford, and here they might have been able to have made a Stand, and put the Duke to no ſmall Streights; but to any one who knew their Deſigns, this was one of their niceſt Policies. They had ſure Advices of all the Proceedings of the Iſland; they found, contrary to their Expectations, every Society forming themſelves into Regiments againſt them. They knew the *Heſſians* and *Dutch* were retained, as it were, Bodies of Reſerve, and a ſelected Army near equal in Number, headed by a young adventurous Chief, was made Choice of to make the firſt Puſh; wherefore had they kept him at bay at that Paſs, the Conſequences at the beſt, would be but pulling down greater Numbers on them, when by letting them come over, they flattered themſelves of depriving him even of the Benefit of a Retreat; and then they ſaw notwithſtanding the many Forces diſperſed

diſperſed all through the Nation, that no one could be able to ſtop their Career; wherefore we find in all their Accounts of themſelves after their Arrival at *Inverneſs*, of the Inconſiderableneſs of their Forces, and their Number is never made more than 4000. However they muſtered for the Engagement 8350, beſides ſeveral Parties they thought not proper to ſtay for, particularly the Earl of *Cromarty* and his Son with 400, Sir *James Stewart* of *Burray* with 300, and Lord *Macleod* with the ſame Number. They knew the Liſt of their Forces were pretty equal, and they were confident of the Goodneſs of their own; and happily for us had too mean an Opinion of the *Engliſh*.

They had a Deſign to have ſurprized the Duke on the 15th at Night; they imagined, they ſhould have found them ſleeping of the Draughts they had drunk to their General's Health, it being the Duke's Birth-Day; but many of their Arms and Ammunition being wanting, and having Intelligence that a double Circumſpection was made uſe of, they laid aſide the Deſign till the next Morning, when they formed themſelves behind ſome

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old Ruins and Cottages, having *Culloden* Houſe on their Left.

Here being formed in Line of Battle, their Front in Thirteen Diviſions, every different Clan making one. Lord *George Murray* commanded the Right-Wing, the Duke of *Perth* the Left, and Lord *George Drummond* the Center. The Flank were covered on the Right by *Fitz James*'s Horſe, and four Companies of *French* Piquets; on the Left, by the *Perthſhire* Squadrons, and the *Chevalier*'s Guards. There were three Columns behind, left as a Reſerve, conſiſting of 800 each; thoſe in the Center being Lord *Lewis Gordon*'s and *Glenbucket*'s, thoſe on the Right commanded by Colonel *Roy Stuart*, and the Left by the Lord *Kilmarnock*; and beſides thoſe, there remained the Duke of *Perth*'s and Lord *Ogilvie*'s Regiments, conſiſting of 800, placed ſtill further backwards, as another Body of Reſerve. They had planted their Cannon four in the Center, and the like Number at each Wing.

And here I would obſerve that the Diſpoſition of their Forces was without Exception, conſidering the Nature of the Place, equal to that of the moſt ſkilful

General, had the Highlanders ſuffered themſelves to be attacked, and not run from their Body of Reſerve, and expoſed their Rear; but no ſooner did they perceive themſelves to be reconnoitred, than they immediately began playing their Artillery, which being anſwered more ſucceſsfully by the oppoſite Party, they were unwilling to bear it. The Right Wing advanced, and preſenting their Piſtols, and brandiſhing their Swords, returned three ſeveral times: Which being perceived by *Hawley*, he wheeled off on the Left, with the Highlanders, and breaking down ſome ſome old Walls, ſet upon their Rear in the Center, ſo that they quickly broke through and met. Hence enſued an entire Overthrow, they being cut off from their Body of Reſerve, and encloſed between two Fires, few eſcaped, Lord *Ancram* being ſent, to purſue as many as might fly. The Loſs on the Field of Battle was above Two thouſand; two hundred and twenty-two *French* were made Priſoners, and 326 Rebels, whilſt the whole Loſs of His Majeſty's Forces were no more than 310, and that chiefly ſuſtained by *Barrel*'s Regiment being flanked at the firſt Onſet.

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In ſhort, ſo entire was the Overthrow, that from hence may be reckoned, the Concluſion of the Rebellion; ſince never afterwards any number of Men were in Arms together, with any Deſigns againſt the Government, but ſuch only as Chance, or the conſulting for their Safety joined.

But an End made here and not carried on to his ſafe Arrival in *France* after ſuch an Attempt as this, when every one's Views have been centered on the *Chevalier*, and now reduced to the loweſt Extremity, in a Country where almoſt all are his Enemies, and a Reward ſufficient ſet on his Head, to biaſs the Inclination of thoſe, who otherwiſe might wiſh his Safety, I am confident would appear deficient to all. And firſt, I cannot conceive, what Ends a generous People, as the *Engliſh* were always eſteemed, could propoſe to themſelves in not giving the deſerved Recommendations to an Enemy, how bad ſoever in ſome Reſpects, can the allowing of Courage, or a Knowledge of military Affairs, make the Title of the Pretender to theſe Dominions, in any Reſpect the better, or does the allowing of Fortitude to the vanquiſhed Chief, take any of the Laurels from the

victorious Heroe! Why then ſhould we have reſort to thoſe low Arts, of making him conceal himſelf in the body of Reſerve, till the firſt Confuſion of his Forces, and then to fix Spurs to his Horſe's Sides, and not ſuffer him to turn his Head, till he arrives at *Aird!* 'Tis a known Obſervation, that the common Soldiers are ever jealous of the Courage of their Commander. They do not ſo much conſider the Juſtice of their Cauſe, as they are drawn aſide, by the Authority of their Chief; and they are acknowledged in thoſe Caſes, to make the moſt proper Judgment of any; and I believe all muſt allow, how bad ſoever his Cauſe was, how frequent ſoever he had deceived them, they all were ready to lay down their Lives for him, on no other Account, than becauſe they perceived him always ready to do the ſame.

'Tis true he himſelf in the Beginning was placed between the Body of Reſerve and the Line of Battle, but not to ſecure himſelf from Danger, but as the Place was the moſt fit to give his Commands from, and he could moſt eaſily fly to the Aſſiſtance of the Party that might want him moſt; and no ſooner had the Com-

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plaints of the Highlanders reſtrained him, contrary to his Inclinations, to ſuffer them to begin the Attack, than he immediately throwed himſelf at the Head of the right Wing, had his Horſe pierced through by a Spontoon, and was thrown from his Back; but he had no ſooner recovered himſelf, and mounted a freſh Horſe, than he perceived the *Engliſh* at his Rear, and his firſt Body of Reſerve in Confuſion, when he immediately haſtens to the Duke of *Perth*'s Regiment, in order to cover their Retreat: but e'er he could come up, they were likewiſe broke by the Earl of *Ancram*.

Then did he firſt think of ſecuring himſelf by Flight, when almoſt all the Remainder of his Friends had already fixed their Safety on it; and he ſet forward for Lord *Lovat*'s Territories.

But as the beſt Judgment of the Chiefs is to be formed from their Speeches, I here ſet you down thoſe of both. His Royal Highneſs, juſt before the Conflict, thus ſpoke to his Army: 'Gentlemen 'and Fellow-Soldiers, I have but little 'Time to addreſs myſelf to you, but, I 'think proper to acquaint you, that you

'are

' are Inſtantly to engage in Defence of your ' King and Country, your Religion, your ' Liberties and Properties; and through ' the Juſtice of our Cauſe, I make no doubt ' of leading you to certain Victory. Stand ' but firm, and your Enemies will ſoon ' fly before you. But if there be any ' amongſt you, who, through Timidity, ' are diffident of their Courage and Beha- ' viour, which I have not the leaſt Reaſon ' to ſuſpect; or any others through Con- ' ſcience or Inclination, cannot be Zealous ' or Alert in performing their Duty, it is ' my Deſire that all ſuch would retire; ' and I further declare, they ſhall have ' my free Pardon for ſo doing; for I had ' much rather be at the Head of one ' Thouſand brave and reſolute Men, than ' ten Thouſand amongſt whom there are ' ſome, who, by Cowardice or Miſbeha- ' viour, may diſpirit or diſorder the Troops, ' and ſo bring Diſhonour or Diſgrace on an ' Army under my Command.' That of the *Chevalier* was as follows: ' Dear ' Friends and Aſſociates in this ſo truly ' noble an Undertaking; I have here ſet ' you in Array of Battle, after the moſt ' advantageous Manner my Years and Ex-

' perience

'perience would admit, and what gives
'me the greateſt Pleaſure is, that it has
'met with the entire Approbation of the
'Officers, more exerciſed in ſuch Affairs
'than I can pretend to; againſt an Enemy
'already now twice made your Diverſion
'under much better Circumſtances than
'at preſent, when commanded by old
'and experienced Generals; but now a
'third Time ſpurred on by the falſe
'Courage, which the firſt Attack will
'make them regardleſs of, the Deſire of
'Signalizing themſelves before their young
'Champion, they have again adventured
'to an open Engagement. But as ſuch
'Talk as this may not appearingly ſo well
'agree with my late Conduct, tho' the
'Time will little admit it, I ſhall here lay
'before you the true Motives of my Pro-
'ceedings. As my Father and dread So-
'vereign was againſt being eſtabliſhed on
'the Throne, any otherwiſe than through
'the Affections of his beloved Subjects,
'ſo he hath given me expreſs Commands,
'unleſs I could effect it without the
'Slaughter of his People, that I ſhould
'leave it unfiniſhed. Had we given them
'Battle in *England*, how direful would

'have

'have been the Conſequences! We muſt
'either have been cut to Pieces, or forced
'our Way through the Lives of Thouſands!
'But now we have drawn from the Na-
'tion thoſe Troops they lay all their
'Confidence in; we have got them on
'this Side the Spey, ſo that their Retreat
'is inevitably cut off, and as many as
'avoid us I may well lay to your Charge;
'Wherefore it only remains for you to
'effect what your two late Conqueſts hath
'ſhewn to be ſo eaſy; wherefore uſe now
'but the ſame Valour as formerly, and
'you may be convinced, the ſame Cowar-
'dice can never withſtand you; make Uſe
'of your National Strength, and once
'more diſcover your private Valour, be
'aſſured that as compleat a Victory as the
'Situation of the Enemy offers us, will
'accompliſh our Work, and we may pro-
'ceed in Triumph to the Capital.'

From hence 'tis plain, it was the *Che-valier*'s Intentions to give no Quarter, how ignorant ſoever many of the Chiefs might be of it. And how cruel ſoever it may appear on Reflection, I make not the leaſt Doubt, but it is warrantable by the Laws of Arms. The whole Succeſs of their

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Undertaking depended entirely on their improving every Advantage. Had they conquered and ſpent the neceſſary Time, and employed a ſufficient Number of Men in ſecuring their Priſoners, they muſt not only have been too late, but their Chief muſt have advanced alone. Wherefore the Enquiry ought not to be, whether there was ſuch an Order or no; but whether, had they conquered, ſuch an Extremity would have been neceſſary; if ſo, all are equally to be blamed, for entering on ſuch a Project, which would neceſſarily drive them to ſuch Streights, whether they put it in execution or no; and had they neglected performing whatever their Cauſe abſolutely required, and the Laws of Arms would allow, we ſhould not have admired their Pity, but wondered at their Folly. But to return to the young Adventurer, now purſuing and making the moſt of his Way to *Aird*, where he no ſooner arrived late in the Evening, than acquainting the Lord *Lovat* with the Circumſtances of his Affairs, he unlooſed the pleaſing Air of his Countenance, and informed him of the great Danger of his Houſe, and alarmed him ſo, that tho' ex-

piring with Fatigue, he again mounted, accompanied by *Cheridan* and *O. Sullivan*, and bended his Courſe towards Fort *Auguſtus*.

But as my Deſign will not permit me to give an Hiſtory of all the particular Circumſtances which happened to the *Chevalier* and his Party, during a five Months wandering, in all the Diſtreſs of a Perſon deprived of all the Neceſſaries of Life, and where all the Country was ranſacked by Thouſands in ſearch after him; I ſhall mention only, that he went on board a Ship fitted out for that Purpoſe by the *French*, on the 19th of *September*, and after a ten Day's Voyage arrived ſafe in *Britanny*.

The Unſucceſs of his Undertaking was greatly lamented by his good and faithful Allie, and he received a Reward of 800,000 Livres, together with a Penſion of 600,000 a Year, for his important Services.

Thus we have finiſhed the Account of theſe two Rebellions, it remains in the next Place, that we ſpeak ſomething of the Motives, which have in a great Meaſure been done in the Relation thereof.

France

France had been applied to during the Reign of King *William*, to eſtabliſh the Pretender on the Throne, and was let into the whole Plot of the deſigned Aſſaſſination. But as ſhe found the Confuſion likely to follow, might be turned to the greateſt Advantage to their Nation, and they might poſſibly have an Opportunity of reducing it to a Province; ſhe refuſed them their deſired Supplies, but at the ſame Time levies them with the greateſt Expedition, and detaches them to *Dunkirk*, in order to ſeize on the Prey as ſoon as the Blow ſhould be ſtruck; but the Scheme failing, *France* then perceived a Change in theſe Nations could never be effected, but by an internal Commotion. Wherefore they began to try the Force of Bribes, with the leading Men, and attacked the main Body with their Pen; now were ſeen Pamphlets to ſpread through the Nation, many of which were thought worthy of a parliamentary Enquiry. And many of the leading Men were ſo powerful as to begin a Breach between her Majeſty and the Princeſs *Sophia*, on the Ambaſſador of the Elector's applying to the Lord Chancellor,

inſtead of going immediately to the Queen, to be made Duke of *Cambridge*.

But no ſooner did the Houſe of *Hanover* come to the Throne, and diſcovered to the Miniſtry that he was not only ſenſible of their bad Management of Affairs, in running the Nation conſiderably in Debt, even during Peace; but that he was well acquainted with their Intrigues in favour of the *Chevalier*, than they immediately threw off the Veil, and brought the Nation into that Confuſion as hath been mentioned. *France* now ſenſible that whilſt Juſtice and Equity ſhould ſit on the *Engliſh* Throne, all Attempts to a Subverſion would not only prove ineffectual, but retort Loſs and Confuſion on the Contrivers; prudently reſolves to make *Britain* her Friend, and ſhe now enters into Alliance with her, Guaranting each other's Dominions; and the hot-brained *Spaniard* now takes up the Cauſe, ſeconded by *Sweden*, and tranſports the Duke of *Ormond* with 5000 Men; but the Winds diſperſing them the Marquis of *Tullibardine* with about 300 *Spaniards* landed in the Year 1719, and being joined by 1600 Highlanders, they were quickly diſperſed, and all the *Spa-*

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niards ſurrendered Priſoners of War. This Diſappointment, and the Death of the King of *Sweden*, cauſed them to lay aſide all other Thoughts.

However, no ſooner was Peace broke with *France*, than ſhe immediately renews her old Alliance with the *Chevalier*, who ſhe always found ready on the leaſt Promiſes of being ſeconded, to harraſs and perplex theſe Nations. And having found the Heat of the *Chevalier*'s Son equal to the Diſtraction of the Undertaking; and always finding in the *Engliſh* a Thorn in their Side, they well concluded, that ſhould not the Deſign anſwer it would at leaſt draw Numbers of Troops from *Flanders*, and what Detriment enſued would light entirely on the *Engliſh*; ſince they ſhould adventure only *French* Promiſes, that conſtituent Part of Nothing, againſt *Engliſh* Policy. Thus we find them perpetually endeavouring at Embarkations, tho' the Number of the *Britiſh* Ships defending the Courſe, rendered the Paſſage ſo difficult. *France* always found herſelf ſufficiently ſupplied for an Undertaking of this Nature with *Scotch* and *Iriſh*, whom the Bigotry of their Opinions, the Poverty

verty of their Native Country, or that ridiculous Cuſtom of receiving a foreign Education, had provided her with. *Spain* now joined her Endeavours with *France*, and ſo confident were they of making juſt what Acquiſitions they pleaſed, that the *French* Party had Orders to firſt make an entire Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, e'er they entered on the *Engliſh* Ground. To ſay when the Pretender had the firſt Notions of this Enterprize, would be ridiculous; ſince their Party continually flattered themſelves with Expectations of this Kind, but this particular Scheme was laid on Foot immediately on the Rupture with *France*.

But now theſe Nations are ſo happily reprieved from ſo great Dangers, as made the Boldeſt to ſhrink, it cannot but be the higheſt Pleaſure and Satisfaction to all true *Britons*, to look back on the vain Attempts of its diſappointed Enemies. The Man who rolls in a continual Flow of Pleaſures, receives them even with Diſguſt at laſt, whilſt the poor tormented Sufferer enjoys the Ceſſation of Torments, as the higheſt Degree of Felicity. His Mind is entirely ſatisfied, and he deſires Naught to com-

pleat

pleat his Joys; he reflects with Pleaſure on his paſt Sufferings, and his Heart overflows with Gratitude, for his preſent Eaſe; till by Continuance the Pains are forgotten, and the Mind is ſatiated with inſipid Reſt. Then does ſhe turn herſelf towards Objects, which at the ſame time that they employ, may divert her with the ſweet Pleaſures of Variety; and happy is that Perſon, whoſe Chance it is to be guided to thoſe Employments, which may at once divert and enrich the Poſſeſſor.

Such is the Condition of Man conſidered in his natural Capacity, and ſo apparently does it appear, that all its after Advantages depend on the Uſe he makes of thoſe Tides of Paſſion, then ſo ſtrongly ruſhing forth. His Mind has been violently agitated by the Acuteneſs of the Pain, which after ſome Time ſpent in the Enjoyment of Reſt, he turns with equal Ardency, towards the Obtainment of Pleaſures.

The ſame is much more apparently ſo, in a State from its Effects, tho' perhaps the Cauſe may not ſo readily appear. *Rome*, happy in a form of Government, ſo beneficent to its Citizens, that each thought he might look down, even on Kings,

Kings, with Pity, being ſick, and tormented with the Conſpiracy of *Cataline*, was no ſooner healed, by the paternal Care of *Cicero*, than after ſome ſhort Time ſpent in the Enjoyment of Peace, and Tranquillity, it broke out afreſh, with double Fury, and never reſted, till it had parted with, and given up thoſe Liberties they had ever deemed dearer than their Lives.

We have two Examples of the violent Commotions of Kingdoms after any Diſturbance in a State from this Nation; the one ſhewing, to what high Degrees of Abſurdity, when left alone, or played on by deſigning Men, a State is then apt to run in. The other diſcovering, how eaſy 'tis after ſuch Commotions, to reform all its former Abuſes, and to make ſuch Amendments, as ſhall be for the eternal Honour and Safety of this Nation. 'Tis obvious, I mean thoſe two remarkable Æras of this Nation, the Uſurpation of *Cromwell*, and the Revolution by *William*.

And here if it may be permitted, to cenſure the Conduct of a crowned Monarch, I would obſerve, that the profuſe Prodigality of *James* the Firſt, had not only ſtripped the Crown of whatever it

was in his Power to diſpoſe on, but had likewiſe fleeced the People, ſo that every new Tax in the ſucceeding Monarch's Reign or the illegal Continuance of an old one, could not but be very gauling to the Subjects, who from theſe Oppreſſions, had turned their Thoughts towards, and well eſtabliſhed by their Writings, the Liberties of the Subject, which was ſettled, by entirely deſtroying what was the ſole End of the Majority to defend, by a more abſolute Power being put into the Hands of a Subject, than they thought conſiſtent with their Lives and Liberties, to be truſted with a legal Monarch.

Thus whilſt the greateſt Patriots, perhaps, this Nation ever had, were fighting and expoſing their Lives and Fortunes, in defence of the Liberty of the Nation, we find them all undermined, by the Intrigues and Cabals of one, who at the firſt, bore not a perceptible Sway amongſt them.

When I conſider attentively of the Revolution, the other Change affording us ſo pleaſing an Example of the great Eaſe of making an entire Amendment, of the Errors and Miſmanagement of foregoing times, and of calling back of the Govern-

ment, as the great *Machiavel* calls it, to its firſt Principles: I ſay, whenever I reflect on it, I am confounded with Terror and Amazement. It being certainly, a Flight in Goverment never to be taken, but at the very laſt Extremity. And as in the natural Body, a corrupted and mortified Head is never to be ſtruck off, whilſt there are any Signs of Life, tho' his Recovery is abſolutely impoſſible, but when dead, for the Conveniency of the better Diſpoſal of the Body, 'tis to be taken off and removed away. So in Government, whilſt there are any of the eſſential Principles of the State remaining unviolated, the Head is to be endured, how corrupt ſoever in ſome Parts; but when the Society is diſſolved, by the breaking the Contracts on the Part of the Governor, I believe it will be readily allowed the Members to ſhift for themſelves. Tho' were there no enſuing Violences offered on the Part of the Magiſtrate, I can't ſee, by what Law they can proceed to puniſh him, not only as he was their Head at the commiting them, but as the Almighty has ſo often expreſly reſerved that Vengeance to himſelf.

It has been urged, as an Argument of the Fickleneſs of theſe Nations, that never a King came to the Throne with more univerſal Applauſe, or greater Aſſurances of Loyalty and Subjection, than *James* the Second; or was diſcarded the ſame, with a greater Approbation of all, when his Principles and Religion were as fully known, before he came to the Throne, as they were experienced afterwards. But ſure they never knew, or little attended to the Tranſactions of the preceding Reign, when in ſpight of the Power of the Duke of *York*, and in Opoſition to a beloved and honoured Monarch, a Bill of Excluſion was almoſt carried in Parliament. No, the Intrigues of *Romiſh* Miſſionaries, and the ſolemn Aſſurances of the King to defend the Religion and Government, as then by Law eſtabliſhed, extracted thoſe Addreſſes of Subjection and Obedience, from Corporations and particular Societies, over which he had but too great an Influence. The Grievances and open Breaches of the Law, are but too manifeſt to need being particularized here, and the Confuſion and hurry of the Nation ſolely bent on being rid of a Head, who had already

broke every Article of his Coronation Oath, with a willing Mind to grant whatever Power their Deliverer ſhould aſk, are already known to all.

And here one can't but reflect with Pleaſure on the Behaviour of the Prince of *Orange*, not only as an *Engliſhman*, whom he has delivered from arbitrary Power, and popiſh Inquiſitions, but as his Carriage and Sentiments have ſomething ſo grand and noble in them, that they, in a manner, even exalt human Nature, and gives us a more pleaſing Idea of our own Being. He received the Petitions of the poor oppreſſed Subject, and willingly expoſed his Life, to redreſs their Grievances. He came, indeed, with a Force ſufficient to defend his Perſon, but far inferior to the Undertaking of the Subverſion of ſo powerful a Kingdom, backed and protected by *France*, and whoſe Cauſe all popiſh States eſteemed their own. The Diſcipline of his Aſſociates, the Regularity of his Proceedings, and the aſſigning the proper, tho' unaccuſtomed Liberties of Parliament, to our Repreſentatives, was then the Comfort and Joy of all; but now from this late Contraſt, appearing in ſtronger Colours,

is turned into Admiration and Surprize. He never once made uſe of the Power of his Party to influence, in the leaſt, the Wills of the Parliament, and when he might, perhaps, have received the Crown, with an unlimitted Power, he only let them know, he would not accept it, as Conſort. Thus having taken from our Annals two Changes in the Government, the one effected by the malicious Ambition of deſigning Knaves, the other brought about through the male Adminiſtration of a perjured Monarch, I think it needleſs to mention the Changes effected by the Contentions of the two Houſes, or to take Notice of that ſo univerſal a Conqueſt, ſo eaſily obtained by the *Norman* Monarch; but ſhall here only obſerve, that 'tis obvious from them, that nothing leſs than the divine Protection can ſhield us from Changes, whenever the Advantage of the Enemy ſhall prompt them to undertake it, at an Opportunity when the evil Reign of the Monarch cauſes any Diſcontent to the Subject, or the Licentiouſneſs of the People makes them unregardful of the Laws. The Reaſon is, becauſe theſe Nations alone, of all her Neighbours, have retained at leaſt,

leaſt, thoſe Branches of Power which may command the others, to the People; whilſt *France* and *Spain* have reſigned all into the Hands of their Monarch, and by that means, become powerful Abroad, and dreadful at Home. They can as eaſily fleece their People, as they can threat their Enemy. Our Throne can, indeed, proclaim War, but we ourſelves ſupply the Sinews. Hence it is that their Honour and Dignity depends on the ſole Will of the Monarch, and ours on the general bent of the Inclinations of the Subjects, which is by ſo much the better Foundation, as the Monarch, being as it were almoſt placed above the Sphere of Man, is expoſed to the greateſt Temptations, and thoſe whoſe Good depend on the turn of his Inclinations, have not the leaſt Influence over him; whilſt on the other Hand, in a State ſo happily blended as ours, where the good of the Nation is eſtabliſhed, on that juſt Foundation of the Endeavours of the Many, where thoſe who are about to receive the greateſt Benefit therefrom, are entruſted with a ſufficient Power to enforce the ſame. I ſay, ſuch a State has by ſo much the Preference as the whole Body of

People,

People, awed and checked by the Authority of the Law, is much leſs apt to err than a ſingle Perſon, ſurrounded with all the Snares of Pleaſure, and urged on by the Sweets of Flattery.

But this Mixture, which make us thus happy, lays us open to theſe two Inconveniencies, which, I fear, without a ſuperior Influence, will ever be found ſufficient to make an Overthrow of our Weal. Firſt, a Deſire to change our Prince, on every Miſmanagement of the Monarch. Secondly, the Morals of the People in general being tainted, and their Circumſtances bad, they'll endeavour to put every thing in Confuſion, to better their Condition. An arbitrary Government is indeed ſubject to the firſt, with this Difference only, that as the State is for changing its Head on every Diſlike, ſo the arbitrary Monarch on every Pique, or Ill-will, is for cuting off, and making a Change of his Subjects: But the laſt ſeems to be entirely peculiar to a free State. Thus having ſpoken of the Means whereby a Change may be likely to enſue in our Eſtabliſhment, namely, a bad Monarch, or the ill Circumſtances of the Subject, I ſhall conclude

clude with ſpeaking ſomething of the laſt, ſince the pleaſing Proſpect we have of Futurity, renders the other not only unneceſſary, but impertinent.

The tainted Morals or ill Circumſtances of the Subjects are certain to be attended with all thoſe Inconveniencies which Iniquity can invent, or Neceſſity find out. I don't queſtion, but all who have given the leaſt Attention to the Arguments of our Modern Politicians, has heard this Query propoſed with the greateſt Ardency; as tho' it were the ſole Point on which depended the Admiſſion of the Pretender; namely, whether or no the Demands the *French* and other States might lay on us, for the ſeveral Sums lent to the *Chevalier*, would be more or leſs than theſe national Debts, which would be ſunk by the Excluſion of the reigning Monarch. Which Argument ſeems to have ſo much Weight with both Parties, as to be anſwered no otherwiſe than by each drawing the Balance to their Party.

The arguing thus, how unjuſt ſoever it may ſeem, will always be made uſe of in a State, where the People has any Degree of Power; for as *Quintius* would never

never principally have had a Hand in ſo baſe a Crime as the forging of a Will; yet finding himſelf made Heir, by the Contrivances of others, he could not, tho' he was conſcious of the Fraud, perſwade himſelf to make uſe of the Power he was entruſted with, to diſannul the ſame; ſo a State oppreſſed by Debts, how willing ſoever they may be to ſubmit to the reigning Monarch, will never be found ſo zealous in reſiſting the Force of an Uſurper, how diſagreable ſoever in himſelf, who ſhall bring with him a Diſcharge for thoſe Debts. Which Conſideration is of ſuch Weight, as not to be lightened by the urging the Neceſſity it lays on thoſe States to whom we run in Debt, to always make our Cauſe their own; which is by ſo much of leſſer Weight than the Affections of the Subjects, by how much every true *Engliſhman* is willing to believe the joint Force of Aliens is too weak and inconſiderable, againſt the unanimous Endeavours of all true *Britons*; not to mention the continual Decreaſe of our Specie by the Exportation of the Intereſt. And here in the next Place, I will beg leave to throw

in my Mite, in that vaſt Mount of Honours, ſo deſervedly heaped upon the City Champion, who, in order to mend the Circumſtances of theſe Nations, has ſo wonderfully opened the Eyes of all *Engliſhmen*, as to diſcover that to be of the greateſt Advantage which they abſurdly imagined to be the higheſt Detriment; namely, the enſuring our Enemies Ships, which were all People equally ſenſible with his Worſhip of the great Profits which he receives, ſure none would be ſo abſurd as to ſpeak againſt it. I ever eſteemed it one of the beſt and moſt honeſt Methods of our itinerant Doctors to eſtabliſh their great Skill and Succeſs, when they produced a Patient on their Stage to teſtify their miraculous Cures. I was ever convinced of the Truth of the Aſſertion, and could not help admiring the Gratitude of the Patient. And here, that I may diſcover the great Force of Eloquence ſo uncommon in our Citizen, and that I may receive thoſe Benevolent Wiſhes for my Gratitude, I ſhall declare, from what a Degree of Infidelity he has delivered me. I ever eſteemed Trade one of the greateſt Advantages a Nation could

poſſibly

poſſibly poſſeſs, even tho' the Profits were ſmall, not only as it is of the greateſt Good to their Morals, by reſtraining them from running into thoſe Exceſſes human Nature unemployed is apt to fall in, but as it ſtrengthens and mends their Race. 'Tis not only the Riches a Nation gets from Trade, that gives them that Advantage over their Neighbours; but by always employing them, it makes what would be Labour and Fatigue to another, their Exerciſe and Diverſion. Thus we find *Sparta* ever too much for *Corinth*. *Rome* conquered *Carthage*; *Spain* the Diverſion of every little State in *Europe*, and laſtly, a Handful of irregular Highlanders inſult over, and threaten the whole *Engliſh* Nation; not becauſe they were more Numerous or more Rich, but becauſe what little Trade they had they managed themſelves, except the *Spartans*, who always ſupplied that Deficiency by the arduous Taſks they inflicted on themſelves.

But as the Amendment of our Morals, or the Strengthening our Race, is now adays eſteemed of the leaſt, or not worthy any Conſideration, I ſhall in the ſecond

Place proceed to ſhew how abſurdly I thought it to be of a Diſadvantage to the Nation, even tho' Ten or Twelve *per Cent.* of every *French* Cargoe was put in his Worſhip's, and other Enſurers Pockets. From the extenſive Trade *Europe* has now long carried on, and the great Advantages there accrues from a juſt Calculation, 'tis no Wonder we are come to the greateſt Exactneſs in that Branch of Trade, and in the following Enquiry I ſhall preſume, that the *French* pays an exact Sum according to the Riſk their Ships run; and provided that one out of ten, which goes from Port, ſhould be taken, they would then pay 10 *l. per Cent.* and ſo in Proportion. Now I believe 'tis obvious, no ſooner would Inſurances become frequent, than the *French* would perceive more Ships come ſafe to Port, and as the Danger leſſened, ſo the Inſurances would fall, and we ſhould find our Merchants as anxious to ſend Intelligence to the Enemy, as they are now to find them out: In ſhort, we ſhould quickly perceive their whole Traffick would be turned this Way, and obſerving that the *French*, from their Intelligence to them,

them, come ſafer to Port than their own Veſſels, they would ſend their Ventures in their Ships, and lay open the moſt advantageous Branches of the *Britiſh* Traffick to them; and they themſelves, inſtead of being Merchants, the Support and Honour of the Nation, would turn Smugglers, the Bane and Peſt of Society.

I ſay the Advantages of Trade, ſhould Inſurances be ſuffered, would dictate this to all; but when we reflect on a Peace we ſhall then more ſenſibly perceive our Error. The *French* now carrying on Trade under the Diſadvantages of War, would then ſettle themſelves in it, and by Cuſtom, being equally uſed to the Sea, they would quickly overpower us with Numbers. Then what a Figure ſhould we make in the Ballance of *Europe!* when *France* were in poſſeſſion of our Settlements, and we had loſt our Trade! And our Debts far exceeding the Fee-ſimple of the Iſland! But ſo much for the ill Circumſtances of the Nation, and when I conſider on the Morals of the preſent Age, the other Rock on which our Conſtitution is ſubject to ſplit, I am loſt in a Wild. And tho' particular

ticular Inſtances may not glare now as heretofore, and the Cries againſt a *Clodius* or *Catilline* are not now heard, it is not for want of Examples, but the Frequency of them, makes the Wonder to ceaſe. But a late Inſtance hath ſhewn itſelf in the North of this Kingdom, which from the particular Circumſtances is not to be equall'd, either by ancient or even the preſent Times; I mean the Progreſs of the Army againſt the Rebels. Who, tho' they were purſuing an Enemy, whoſe Strength depended on the good Diſpoſitions of the People towards them, were continually alarmed with Accounts of an Invaſion at their Backs, and where beſides Officer'd and Headed by Chiefs exemplary in their Characters, and moſt diligent in their Diſcipline; yet notwithſtanding Plunder was their main Aim, and Pride and Cruelty the ſole Return for all the Favours of the People glorying to them of their being their Deliverers. From what can we form a more ſure Notion of the general Diſpoſitions of a People, and what would their Fellow-ſubjects have had to fear from them, had they been commanded by leſs diligent, or

leſs

leſs noble Officers. Yet when we look on them in the Capital, we can't but admire what Policy can reſtrain them, when their many Outrages and their manner of Life convinces us they are ſunk to the loweſt Ebb of Depravity, ſince no Time nor Place affording a Glaſs of Gin, can want the Cuſtom of a Red Coat and his Trull, and as their Pay is but bare Subſiſtence, this throws them on the Highway for the Neceſſaries of Life, which how much they take to, the Hiſtory of the *Old-Bailey* may diſcover.

However, I believe, I may venture to ſet Levity for the preſent reigning Vice of the Age; that Vice, which in my younger Days was ſo deſervedly the Laughter of theſe Nations; of which we ſeem now to have ſhamed our Neighbours, and have our ſelves caught the Infection. No longer can we diſcover the Stateſman by his knotted Forehead, or the Soldier by his ſteady Reſolution; no longer is a pleaſing Serenity the Characteriſtick of the Clergy, nor can an Advocate be known by his Diligence; and the Cit ſcorns to be deemed ſingular, by his plodding Diligence, or formal Frugality.

gality. A Levity of Carriage ſeems moſt agreeable to all, which not only extends to their Perſons, but is likewiſe practiſed in their Buſineſs, and Foolery and City Gallantry is now a-days carried on in the 'Change, to as high Perfection as at Court.

From whence it is, that the Jews under all the diſadvantageous Circumſtances of being Aliens, and reſtrain'd by many Laws of being deemed treacherous, and not to be truſted, run away with the moſt profitable Branches of Trade from Merchants, in their own Countries, whoſe Characters for Honeſty and fair Dealing have been long eſtabliſhed over the whole World. If we leave the 'Change, to caſt an Eye on the Retailers, and take them from an outward Appearance, we find their Dear-ſelves and Shops ſo ſprucely diſhed out, that the firſt is unwilling to do the Buſineſs himſelf, and the other receives a manifeſt Injury from all Cuſtomers but what a Carriage may convey; and if we examine their domeſtick OEconomy, we find it ſo expenſive as not to be ſupported without extraordinary Gains, from which the Pedlar makes his Advantage; and what Peſts to Society they

they are, the late unhappy Rebellion declares, ſince by their Means all the Plot was ſo ſecretly carried on. The Lawyer's Chambers are dirty, forſaken, and the Tavern is his Habitation. When we look towards *Weſtminſter*, we are preſented with Views as confuſed as is poſſible for Human Nature to exhibit; here the ſpruce Courtier leads the Van, who is followed by the ſmart Templer and prim Citizen. And if we attend them in their Diverſions, we ſhall ſtill perceive them concealed under the Diſguiſe of Men of Pleaſure: In ſhort, ſo inconſiderate is the preſent Age, that tho' their Anceſtors might have been more extravagant, or even more flagrantly vicious; yet, I believe, never were they ſo effeminate, ſo poor or idle. When I look on the Eſſentials, which give a Man a Reputation in Company, I could almoſt wiſh we were the Dupes of *France*, ſo that we might be relieved from the Tyranny of Taylors, who have now invented a different Cut for every Month, and whoever ſhall be ſo hardy as not to liſt under their Standard, will find his moſt intimate Friends forget him; and what is moſt melancholy, it

is grown ſo epidemical, as to have taken the deepeſt Root in our Univerſities.

I was commiſſion'd not long ago, to enquire out the Character of the Son of an intimate Acquaintance, who complain'd to me his Bills run higher than he thought was agreeable to the Manner of a Student's Life; not that he ſhould begrudge paying them, provided he did not conſume too large a Share of his Time, together with his Money. When having initiated myſelf with his Acquaintance, in order the more perfectly to know his real Diſpoſition, I broke with one I perceived moſt intimate, and aſked what Sort of a Man he was; to which, inſtead of the Anſwer (which in my Time would have been return'd) of his being a clever, or ingenious Lad, I was told he was a pretty Youth, but letting him underſtand that I ~~ſhall know~~ knew him at School, and deſired to be informed how he turn'd out, I was anſwered he was as genteel a Fellow as any in the Univerſity.

Being thus diſappointed, by one I thought the moſt ſenſible amongſt them, I could not help reflecting on the Difference of Manners, together with the Conſequences. There

There formerly the moſt ingenious Lad bore the greateſt and higheſt Sway, both at School and College; but now-a-Days, a Perſon who has the moſt genteel Frock, together with a creditable Perſonage, ſhall attract the Approbation of all. From this Complaiſance I could not help fancying we had already finiſhed half the Work for *France*, and 'twould but be ſending over a Regiment of pretty Fellows, and we ſhould blindly ſubmit ourſelves a Province to them: But looking more nearly into the Extent of this Complaiſance, and perceiving it center in our Endearments to one another, I could not help ſhuddering at the Apprehenſions of the *Italian*'s Sway amongſt us, and then firſt began to lament the Decay of the once ſo flouriſhing Garden; but to conclude, ſince our Eſtabliſhment is ſubject only to a Change, from a tyrannous Monarch, the tainted Morals of the Subjects, or the ill Circumſtances of the Nation; and ſince our glorious Monarch has laid before our Eyes ſuch glorious Patterns of Juſtice, Mercy, Vigilance, and Holineſs, ought not we the Subjects on our ſide, to endeavour each to add our Shares to our Parts

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Parts of the Work? and ought not our Miniſtry to center their Endeavours in effecting their Parts of the Work, in relieving the Nation from ſome of its moſt grievous Debts, and not continue to ſtill add more to it? In ſhort, ſo heinous are the Sins of the People, ſo grievous are the Debts of the Nation, that to the eternal Honour of his Majeſty, had a leſs merciful, had a leſs beloved Monarch been on the Throne, the Rebels muſt have effected what our Diſcontents have had more than begun, the reducing theſe Nations to Popery and Slavery.

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